

# THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON

By EDWIN D. MEAD

**A** LIFELONG champion of freedom—political freedom, religious freedom, industrial freedom, literary independence, the emancipation of the slave, the equal rights of woman, justice to every race and every man—such pre-eminently was Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

At the dinner of the American Historical Association, during the convention of the Association when in Boston in 1899, Colonel Higginson was the principal speaker; and in the course of his speech he said one very characteristic and significant thing. That was a time, it will be remembered, when expressions of fondness or toleration for imperialist procedures were fashionable and common; and all such expressions jarred upon Colonel Higginson. "I have been specially struck," he said, "by the force and clearness of the speeches made in these meetings. But I noticed the absence of one word which in my student days was always present, always in the air—the word 'freedom.' In this morning's discussion of the relation of this country to other countries that glorious word did not occur. I pray you, ladies and gentlemen, in your historical study and teachings, to think deeply of this." He stated clearly his own position about some of the prevalent policies, and added: "I dare say that three-fourths of you disagree with me on this point; but I have stood in companies where nine-tenths of those present were on the other side, and I can stand it. But I hope the next time I attend meetings of this association I shall hear something about freedom in the deliberations."

Some of the references in this speech were echoes of words of Colonel Higginson's in an article printed the previous summer, which are still worth reviving,

as they not only state more fully the leading thought of the speech, but present a truth which to-day and always the republic needs to remember.

"Twice in history has the North American republic won just gratitude from the human race when it might have forfeited it by a policy less advanced. To this day, to be sure, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, engaged in his career of empire-making, has never ceased to blame this nation for letting Mexico go, when she lay conquered in our hands—for taking down that flag which once waved in 'the halls of the Montezumas,' and contenting ourselves with a slice of territory when we might have plundered the whole. But the world has judged differently. More striking still is the case of Japan. There is in the public park at Newport, R. I., the statue of a naval hero whose greatness lay not merely in what he did, but in what he abstained from doing; so that, having for the first time opened Japan to modern civilization, Commodore Perry left it to work out its own destiny and become one of the great free nations of the world. Can any one doubt that Mexico and Japan are now far higher in condition than if they had been reduced to subject or tributary states, as Clive and Hastings reduced British India? There is no proof that the Japanese are intrinsically superior to the Hindoos; but the one race was left free by the Americans, and the other subjugated by Englishmen. So there is no proof that the Filipinos are not, as Admiral Dewey said, as well fitted for freedom as the Cubans, or, one may add, as the Mexicans. Our nation has never needed to vindicate its power of fighting. In two instances, Japan and Mexico, it has also proved its power of self-control. Can it be possible that we shall fail to exercise the same self-control



in dealing with the Filipinos? If we succeed, if we trust the principle of liberty, we may see them stand where the Japanese stand; if we pursue the policy of conquest, they can never rise above the humbler condition of the Hindoos. There appears to be no human being for whom the British government has less use than for an educated Hindoo."

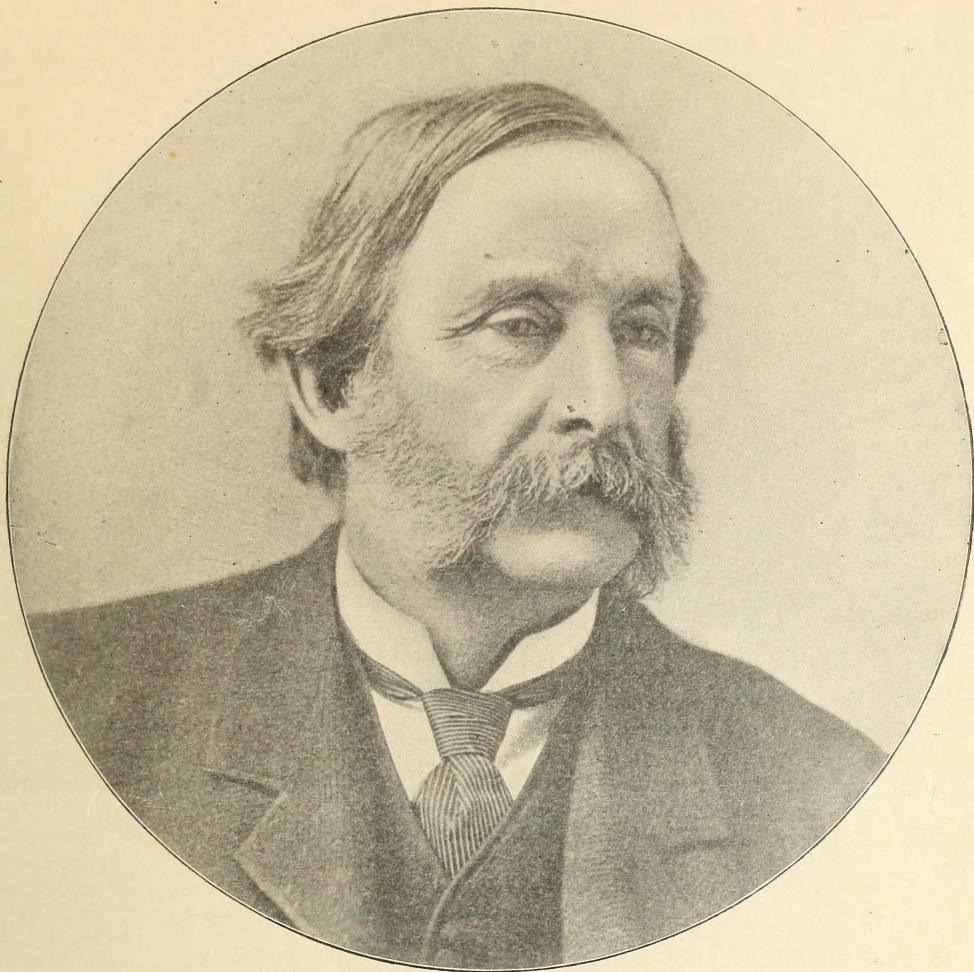
The article from which this passage is taken bore as a title that stirring exclamation of Thomas Paine's, "Where liberty is not, there is my country!"—emphasizing his fellow-citizenship with every man who was oppressed and needed a helping hand. It was inevitable that Colonel Higginson should be a leader among those who condemned the course so hostile to freedom and the world's progress, into which the republic was betrayed in 1899. It would be useful to make his words a text for a discourse upon that theme. Our present theme is Colonel Higginson himself and his lifelong services for freedom, in which his strong position in the Philippine crisis formed simply a logical and fitting chapter.

Colonel Higginson's books are books of freedom; his friends were friends of freedom. He gave to us in 1898 that most noble, frank and fascinating of autobiographies, "Cheerful Yesterdays"; and just as he asked us to see to it that we did not omit the word "freedom" from our political vocabulary, there came to us his "Contemporaries," which may properly enough be considered a second volume of the autobiography. The books are necessary companions, each supplementing the other. In his "Yesterdays," Colonel Higginson pictures the scenes and the events in which he and his strong contemporaries acted together; in his "Contemporaries," he paints the portraits of the noble men and women who helped to make his yesterdays brave and great and therefore in the noblest sense cheerful. The two books together give us a survey, not surpassed in insight and value by any other, of the intellectual and moral life of New England and America during the last two generations. They reminded us of the high credentials

of this brave spokesman for freedom, by bringing before us as they did the harder and more trying times than ours when just as calmly and as firmly he "stood in companies where nine-tenths of those present were on the other side." They also served to make us think anew of the immense service, both as a man of letters and a man of action, which Colonel Higginson has rendered America. Some of us were led to turn anew, and with a more definite and comprehensive purpose, to the long line of his books which stand upon the shelves of the library, to consider the great variety and extent of his writings, their literary charm and their significant contribution to American culture, and the central aims and principles which inform and inspire them.

The mere extent of Colonel Higginson's writings, when their serious and thorough nature is considered, is impressive. Before the title-page of "Contemporaries," the publishers printed the list of Colonel Higginson's books published by themselves alone, and the list included, besides "Contemporaries" and "Cheerful Yesterdays," the following: "Atlantic Essays," "Common Sense about Women," "Army Life in a Black Regiment," "The New World and the New Book," "Travellers and Outlaws," "Malbone," "Oldport Days," "Outdoor Papers," "The Procession of the Flowers," "The Afternoon Landscape," "The Monarch of Dreams," and "Margaret Fuller Ossoli." In the decade following have been added "Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises," "Part of a Man's Life," "The Life and Times of Stephen Higginson," and "Henry W. Longfellow." But this score of volumes does not by any means make up the whole, although we have here his best works. A score more of volumes must be added to complete the list which tells the story of his literary labors. Indeed I have read that there are fifty titles in some of the card catalogs. There are the three little collections of miscellaneous essays, "Women and Men," "Concerning All of Us," and "Book and Heart"; there is the second little volume of poems, "Such as They Are," containing poems by Mrs. Higginson also; there





Photograph by Courtesy of Clarke Book Herald

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON

are the "Tales of the Enchanted Islands of the Atlantic" and the "Book of American Explorers" for the young people. For Colonel Higginson has always had a hand for the service of the young people. Almost his first published book (1850) was "The Birthday in Fairy Land," a story for children; and when, more than a quarter of a century ago, he published his "Young Folks' History of the United States," he did one of the greatest services ever done for our American boys and girls, not only in giving them a history of their own country which still remains one of the best, but in provoking a dozen more of our best writers to work

in the same field in a similar way. His "Larger History of the United States" has, like the smaller one, the supreme quality of being interesting. In the field of history we have, besides, the two stout volumes on "Massachusetts in the Army and Navy during the Civil War" and the volume of "English History for American Readers," prepared in collaboration with Professor Edward Channing. In collaboration with Henry W. Boynton he prepared "A Reader's History of American Literature." He was the editor of the "Harvard Memorial Biographies," the collection of lives of Harvard men who fell in the Civil War, and himself



the writer of not a few of the biographies in the work. His services as an editor have been frequent and considerable. In this capacity he gave us the four volumes of "Brief Biographies of European Public Men." With Samuel Longfellow he compiled "Thalatta," that charming book for the seaside; with Mrs. Bigelow, he compiled the valuable volume of "American Sonnets"; with Mrs. Todd, he edited the Poems of Emily Dickinson. He has translated Epictetus and Petrarch. There is the useful little volume of "Hints on Writing and Speech-making"; and we have counted on a volume on the Orators of America,\* made up of the lectures given at the Lowell Institute. There is the volume of "Short Studies of American Authors,"—Hawthorne, Poe, Thoreau, Howells, Helen Hunt, Henry James,—which may almost be viewed as another volume of "Contemporaries." The same may be said of the volume on "Old Cambridge." The first of the five chapters in the book is an antiquarian chapter; but the "Three Literary Epochs" of the second chapter—namely, the epoch of the North American Review, that of the Dial, and that of the Atlantic Monthly—were epochs all in some manner familiar to him, and a part of which he was; while the last three chapters, on Holmes, Longfellow and Lowell, might just as well have found place in "Contemporaries."

Colonel Higginson once said that his literary achievements had fallen far short of his hopes and ambitions; yet he dwelt upon four things which he thought had exercised distinct influence. The first was his series of "Outdoor Papers," particularly the one on "Saints and their Bodies,"—his first contribution to the Atlantic Monthly, in its first year—which had much to do with the modern athletic revival, among other things leading Dr. Sargent to take up the teaching of athletics as a profession. The address upon "The Sympathy of Religions" which had a very wide circulation in pamphlet form, prompted Dr. Barrows of Chicago into such thought upon the subject as resulted in 1893 in the famous Parliaments of Religions. The trenchant essay, "Ought Women to Learn the

Alphabet?" contending that when they were once allowed to do this their equality with man was sure to follow, produced a profound and permanent effect. Lastly, he had the satisfaction of knowing that his "Young Folks' History of the United States," of which more than 200,000 copies were sold, had an immense influence on the history of teaching in the schools, through making the subject vastly more interesting than ever before.

But who shall say what his greatest work was? Many hold it to be the work done in command of the South Carolina regiment of colored troops. He made those slaves of yesterday rise up to manhood and act the soldier with speed and power which few had ventured to expect and few were able to bring about. I think the last public tribute paid by Colonel Higginson was to Rev. Abraham Willard Jackson, who died but a few days before Colonel Higginson's own death, and who had been a captain in that famous black regiment. It was Jackson who once said of Colonel Higginson: "Were I writing his epitaph, I would say, 'He met a slave; he made him a man!'" Certain it is that that service at the head of the black regiment had always a proud pre-eminence in his own mind, as in the minds of so many who loved him. I have never heard him speak more warmly, I may say hotly, than when defending the colored men of the South from what he felt to be aspersions upon their character and conduct in the reconstruction time; and his tributes to their character were drawn from his experience with his regiment. Whatever other titles he bore, he was chiefly "Colonel" to the end; and that impressive military funeral in the old First Parish Church at Cambridge, with the black soldiers bearing the coffin wrapt in the flag, was the fitting funeral.

Born in Cambridge, in 1823, Higginson has been emphatically a Cambridge man; just as Edward Everett Hale, born in Boston the year before, was emphatically a Boston man. Both men preached for a time in Worcester. Before going to Worcester, Higginson lived for some years in Newburyport, part of the time preaching there; and for many years he lived in Newport. But we regard these



flights as digressions. It is a little hard to think of him as really at home in any of these places or anywhere outside of Cambridge, where he was born. More than any other of our literary men, save Lowell alone,—more than Longfellow, more than Holmes, who, although born in Cambridge, is always to our thought as much a Boston man as Dr. Hale,—is Higginson identified with Cambridge. "To James Russell Lowell, Schoolmate and Fellow-Townsmen," he dedicated his little volume of poems, "The Afternoon Landscape." Lowell, his Cambridge fellow and co-celebrant, was four years the older, born in 1819,—the same year, it is interesting to observe, as Julia Ward Howe, whose "Reminiscences," traversing so much of the same ground and touching so many of the same men and women, came to us just as we were reading "Cheerful Yesterdays" and "Contemporaries." The chapters upon Mrs. Howe and Dr. Hale, whose going preceded Colonel Higginson's so shortly, are among the best in the late volume entitled "Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises."

Higginson was fittingly the orator on the occasion of the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Cambridge, in 1881; as Lowell was the orator, five years later, at the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Harvard College. We have somewhere Lowell's letter to Higginson, telling of the satisfaction and delight with which he had read in London the latter's Cambridge oration. There is much about Lowell scattered throughout Higginson's books; but somehow it all seems inadequate. Perhaps it is because we naturally expect so much and desire so much, where there was such rare opportunity for knowing. Criticism seems too frequent, and emphasis upon Lowell's great sides insufficient. The special essay upon Lowell is one of the slightest and most disappointing of all the many which Higginson devotes to his contemporaries, although it is redeemed in great measure by its last page, which is one of the finest tributes to Lowell ever written.

To the useful volume, by various hands, upon "Cambridge in 1896," Hig-

ginson contributed the chapter on "Life in Cambridge Town," a chapter suggesting Lowell's old essay (written in 1854) upon "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago." Referring to this delightful essay, Higginson reminds us, in his essay upon John Holmes, in "Contemporaries," that it must be supplemented by John Holmes's "Harvard Square," in the Harvard Book, if we would get "the very inmost glimpse of village life in the earlier Cambridge." The glimpses of Cambridge life generally with which this essay on John Holmes abounds constitute one of its greatest charms. The life of Longfellow is of course full of Cambridge pictures and of the Cambridge atmosphere. Many more pages in the life of Margaret Fuller than those which makes up the chapter on "Girlhood at Cambridge" are valuable contributions to the history of Cambridge intellectual and social life in the first half of the century. The opening chapters of "Cheerful Yesterdays," those upon "A Cambridge Boyhood" and "A Child of the College," are Cambridge and Harvard pictures of rare interest and of distinct historical value. Higginson was for years a director of the Cambridge public library, as he was a member of the visiting board of Harvard University. His educational services altogether were many and great. He was at one time a member of the State Board of Education.

Higginson has been a most loyal and loving son of Harvard; and the University honored herself as much as she honored him when she conferred upon him in 1899 her highest degree. He had been graduated from the college fifty-eight years before, the youngest member of the class of 1841, as Edward Everett Hale was the youngest member of the class of 1839. He had studied afterwards in the Divinity School, which was organized by his father, who also planted the elms in the Harvard yard when he was steward of the college. I have referred to the "Harvard Memorial Biographies," which he edited. In enumerating his writings we must not forget, in this connection, his contribution to the Harvard Book, nor his "Memorials of the Class of 1833." We must not forget his contributions to



the "Memorial History of Boston," to the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Browning Society, the Free Religious Association. He was appropriately the orator at the centennial celebration of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1891; for he has been one of our most zealous and faithful historical scholars. Said the president of the Historical Society in introducing him on this centennial occasion: "He has filled the Puritan ideal of a citizen's range of office,—elder, reformer, military commander, historian, deputy to the Great and General Court." He was for years the president of the Free Religious Association. No other person was prominently identified with the Association so long. He took part in its first meeting in 1867, and was an officer until his death. Almost invariably for years he was invited to preside at its annual festival; and it was, I think, at the festival in May, 1910, that he made his last public speech. He wrote often for the *Index*; and in the interest of the suffrage cause he wrote much for the *Woman's Journal*. His popular tract on "The Sympathy of Religions" is a good index to the radicalism and catholicity of his own religion. The published sermons that have come down to us in the libraries, with such titles as "Man shall not Live by Bread Alone," "Elegy without Fiction" (in 1852, with reference to Webster and Rantoul), "Scripture Idolatry," and "Massachusetts in Mourning" (1854), show that while he was in the pulpit he must have been a preacher after Theodore Parker's own heart. Indeed his Free Church of Worcester was made up of people whom somebody called the "Jerusalem Wildcats," who were strongly under Parker's influence. Higginson's own religious life was singularly free from the storm and stress of creedal conflict always. "I never heard of the Five Points of Calvinism until maturity," he once said. With a great price many of his contemporaries obtained their theological freedom; but he was free born.

I have said that Colonel Higginson's last public speech was at the festival of the Free Religions Association in May,

1910. He spoke after that at the Round Table; but the meetings of this delightful Boston club of men and women are not public meetings. Colonel Higginson was the president of the Round Table from its founding to his death; and his presiding and his occasional papers constituted its greatest charm.

Of peculiar interest and value among Colonel Higginson's books is his little *Life of Francis Higginson*, the first minister in the Massachusetts Bay Colony—coming to Salem in 1629—and Colonel Higginson's own first American ancestor. It is a loving study of English life in the early Puritan time, of the customs of Cambridge University in that seventeenth century, of the earliest ecclesiastical usages in New England, of Francis Higginson's own noteworthy contributions to the picture and record of the place and time, and above all of that saintly man's life and character. With proper pride did Colonel Higginson look back to such an ancestor; and with proper pride did he claim at the close of his study: "The stock has surely shown some vitality and vigor, and perhaps something of transmitted public spirit and of interest in things higher than those which are merely material. These descendants have remained loyal, as Americans, to the verdict of their early progenitor, that 'one sup of New England air is better than a whole flagon of old English ale'; and many of them have shown in their lives an adherence to John Higginson's opinion, 'that if any man amongst us make religion as twelve and the world as thirteen, let such a one know he hath neither the spirit of a true New England man, nor yet of a sincere Christian.'" The justice of the claim is the more apparent when it is remembered that the vitality and vigor of the stock have been represented in our day by such men, in addition to Colonel Higginson himself, as General Sherman and Senator Sherman, Governor Andrew, Senator Evarts and Senator Hoar.

I do not know how many generations of Higginsons there were between Francis and Stephen, Colonel Higginson's grandfather, to whom he also devotes an admirable volume. "To have been one of the first American shipmasters called



on to testify before Parliament as to American colonial matters; to have been a member of the Continental Congress in its closing days; to have been second in command during the first effective resistance to Shay's Rebellion; the first to argue from that peril the need of a stronger government; the first to suggest that the voices of nine out of thirteen states could make the Confederacy into a Nation; the first to organize and equip the American Navy under Jefferson's administration:—"These," he wrote on the preface, "afford sufficient ground to justify the writing of any man's memoir." The passage well summarizes the conspicuous services of Stephen Higginson. His son, Colonel Higginson's father, was also named Stephen. He was a prosperous Boston merchant. When the embargo put a period to his prosperity, he retired for a time, before becoming steward of Harvard College, to his sheep farm in Bolton. To those who know the beautiful Bolton region, it is pleasant to think of Colonel Higginson's ancestral association with it; as to those who love the Cheshire hills in New Hampshire it is pleasant to think of his home for so many summers in the shadow of Monadnock.

To old Salem, the home of Francis Higginson, Colonel Higginson returns more than once in his books. The essay on "Old Salem Sea Captains" is one of the best in the volume, "Travellers and Outlaws," which is made up of studies of some of those unfamiliar and curious historical episodes and characters with which Colonel Higginson delights to deal. The historian is ever and again coming to the front in the many volumes of essays. "A Charge with Prince Rupert," one of the best of the "Atlantic Essays," brings out the motives and the spirit of the two conflicting parties in the English Civil War with singular vividness and force. The essay on "The Puritan Minister," in the same volume, is a study of the early ecclesiastical life of New England, of high historical value.

To Newport, which certainly was his home for many years, although it is hard to identify him with it,—just as it is hard to think of Hawthorne as a part of Con-

cord in the same way that we think him a part of Salem,—Colonel Higginson has generously paid his debt; as Hawthorne so well paid his debt to Concord. The "Mosses from an Old Manse" is not a better offering upon the Concord altar than "Oldport Days" upon the Newport altar; and Colonel Higginson himself, who loved Hawthorne so well, would say that that is the best that could be said of his book. In truth it may be said that, of all Colonel Higginson's books, "Oldport Days," with those fascinating chapters upon Oldport Wharves, the Haunted Window, a Driftwood Fire, and the rest, is the most Hawthornish; and it has given the spirit of the real Newport, as opposed to the Newport of mere sojourn and fashion, its best literary expression. "Malbone," it will be remembered, is "An Oldport Romance"; and Colonel Higginson's Rhode Island life has left its marks on many a page of many a book. He must have been a sympathetic guide of his English visitors to Whitehall, the old Newport home of Bishop Berkeley; for, strong idealist that he was, Rhode Island's associations with that supreme idealist must have been peculiarly dear to him. "There has belonged to Rhode Islanders," he notes with relish in his little romance, "The Monarch of Dreams," "ever since the days of Roger Williams, a certain taste for the ideal side of existence. It is the only state in the American Union where chief justices habitually write poetry and prosperous manufacturers print essays on the Freedom of the Will." It is a word such as we can imagine Dr. Hale also saying as he discoursed to some visitor at Matunuck, his Rhode Island summer home. Colonel Higginson's own idealism, in Rhode Island or in Cambridge, has always been an idealism with hands and feet, like that of his Puritan ancestors. He was always the man of affairs as much as the man of letters; and his paper on the Public Schools of Newport which we find in an old volume of "Contributions to the History of the History of the Public School System of Rhode Island," is but one of many witnesses to his faithfulness in Newport to his duties as a citizen.



The scene of "A Moonglade," the closing sketch in the little volume, "The Procession of the Flowers," is laid at Newport. The other essays in that charming collection were written at Worcester, and Lake Quinsigamond gets into most of them. Their very titles,—*"April Days," "My Outdoor Study," "Water Lilies," "The Life of Birds"*—show that they properly belong among the "Outdoor Papers"; and in the volume so entitled they finally found place. This volume is the best expression of Colonel Higginson as an outdoor man; for, like Lowell, he was always emphatically that, a man of the fields and woods as much as a man of the library. He was the most red-blooded and rural of scholars, loving birds quite as well as books, and carrying into the garden and on to the hills the instinct and talent of the naturalist as truly as the love and sympathy of the poet. He was as much at home presiding at a meeting of the Appalachian Mountain Club or the Massachusetts Bicycle Club as 'n reading a paper before the Historic-Genealogical Society.

Yet it is upon human themes, upon literature and history and society, that Colonel Higginson has chiefly written, and the life of a social and political reformer that has been his central life. His *"Cheerful Yesterdays"* are almost altogether a reformer's yesterdays; and his *"Contemporaries"* were almost altogether men and women living the most strenuous of strenuous lives, devoted to what one of our economists has called "the foolish attempt to make the world over." In his distinctly literary books, like *"Atlantic Essays"* and *"The New World and the New Book,"* it is when he comes closest to contemporaneity and life that he is usually most interesting. But this is by no means always the case; and it is not to be said at all without saying at once and warmly that upon distinctly literary themes and as a representative of literary art Colonel Higginson stands in the very front American rank. No American essays, save Emerson's and Lowell's alone, are of higher importance or greater charm than his; and his best essays are entitled to rank with Lowell's own. He has been a constant force for

culture. He has been a constant rebuke to literary slipshodness by his constant regard, through the great mass of his work, for simplicity, freshness, structure, the choice of words, and thoroughness,—to emphasize the literary qualities which he emphasizes and which he has so well exemplified. We think of few chapters of advice which the young writer could read more profitably than Colonel Higginson's "Letter to a Young Contributor." He stood for devotion to the world's great books. He is too good a scholar not to know that the best national literature must come with love and understanding of the best world literature and recognition of its canons and its inspirations.

But for a true, free national literature, for a sturdy and independent Americanism, he always speaks,—there is through all his books no note more constant. He hated the colonialism, the dependence upon English impulse and imprimatur, which has so largely marked our literature almost up to the very present. This is, in one way or another, the burden of almost the whole of *"The New World and the New Book."* Under the title of *"The Evolution of an American"* he traces with enthusiasm the steps by which Motley, beginning his intellectual life with aristocratic and European sentiments, was made "not merely a patriot, but a man of democratic convictions at last." Many a page in this vital American book might well have found its point of departure in Lowell's famous essay on *"A Certain Condescension in Foreigners."* In the essay entitled *"Unnecessary Apologies"* is this fine and true passage:

"Let me make the great effort of supposing Emerson an English author and Matthew Arnold an American; does any one suppose that Arnold's criticisms on Emerson would in that case have attracted very serious attention in either country? Had Mr. Gosse been a New Yorker, writing in a London magazine, would any one on either side of the Atlantic have seriously cared whether Mr. Gosse thought that contemporary England had produced a poet? The reasons why the criticism of these two Englishmen have attracted such widespread no-



tice among us is that they have the accumulated weight—the *ex oriente lux*—of London behind them. We accept them meekly and almost reverently; just as we even accept the criticisms made on Grant and Sheridan by Lord Wolseley, who is, compared to either of these generals, but a carpet knight. It is in some such way that we must explain the meek gratitude with which our press receives it, when Mr. Bryce apologizes for our deficiencies in the way of literature. Mr. Bryce has a chapter on 'Creative Intellectual Powers' in which he has some capital remarks on the impossibility of saying why great men appear in one time or place and not in another—in Florence, for instance, and not in Naples or Milan. Then he goes on to say that there is 'no reason why the absence of brilliant genius among the sixty millions in the United States should excite any surprise,' and adds soon after, 'It is not to be made a reproach against America that men like Tennyson or Darwin have not been born there.' Surely not; nor is it a reproach against England that men like Emerson or Hawthorne have not been born there. But if this last is true, why did it not occur to Mr. Bryce to say it; and had he said it, it is not plain that the whole tone and statement of his proposition would have been different? It is too early for comparison, but it is undoubtedly the belief of many Americans—at any rate, it is one which I venture to entertain—that the place in the history of intellect held a hundred years hence by the two Americans he forgets to mention will be greater than that of the two Englishmen he names."

The point of this is undeniable. Mr. Higginson tells us more than once that in several representative English circles he found Francis Parkman an unknown name. A literary or social judgment of his own upon an English matter of moment would very likely have attracted little attention in London or Oxford; while Boston and New York listened with humble deference to men like Mr. Gosse. Yet what enlightened American or Englishman can fail to see that Colonel Higginson's judgment upon any matter, as compared with that of Mr. Gosse, is

not simply as "thirteen to twelve"—to echo old John Higginson's figure—but as thirteen to a very much smaller number?

Colonel Higginson's writing is imbued throughout with Americanism and democracy of the worthiest and truest type, and imbued always with a splendid enthusiasm. "It is melancholy," he says, "to see young men come forth from college walls with less enthusiasm than they carried in,—trained in a spirit which is in this respect worse than English Toryism, that it does not even retain a hearty faith in the past. It is better that a man should have eyes in the back of his head than that he should be taught to sneer at even a retrospective vision. One may believe that the golden age is behind us or before us; but alas for the forlorn wisdom of him who rejects it altogether! Better a thousand times train a boy on Scott's novels or the Border Ballads than educate him to believe on the one side that chivalry was a cheat and the troubadours imbeciles, and on the other hand that universal suffrage is an absurdity, and the one real thing is to get rid of our voters." He notes how often the scholars are behind the common people. "The Cowardice of Culture" is one of the most significant essays in that very autobiographical volume, "Part of a Man's Life." "Slavery," he says elsewhere, "had to be abolished before the most accomplished orator of the nation could be invited to address the graduates of his own university. The first among American scholars was nominated year after year, only to be rejected, before the academic societies of his own neighborhood. Yet during all that time the rural lecture associations showered their invitations on Parker and Phillips. Culture shunned them, but the common people heard them gladly."

As to our American literature, his own eyes have always been in the front of his head, hopefully and confidently looking forward. Half a century ago he wrote: "Every form of human life is romantic; every age may become classic. Lamentations, doubts, discouragements, all are wasted things. Everything is here between these Atlantic and Pacific shores, save only the perfected utterance that comes with years. Between Shakespeare



in his cradle and Shakespeare in 'Hamlet' there was needed but an interval of time; and the same sublime condition is all that lies between the America of toil and the America of art." "It is but a few years," he says again, writing forty years ago, "since we have dared to be American in even the details and accessories of our literary work; to make our allusions to natural objects real, not conventional; to ignore the nightingale and skylark, and look for the classic and romantic on our own soil. This change began mainly with Emerson."

Colonel Higginson was conspicuously a lover of England. He was never happier than in his London reminiscences, of which we have delightful chapters both in "Cheerful Yesterdays" and "Contemporaries," as well as in "Part of a Man's Life" and "Carlyle's Laugh." "We cannot spare the Englishman from our blood; but it is our business to make him more than an Englishman." He was a true child of the Puritan and believed that the spirit which founded New England is the best possible foundation for the better things for which we hope in literature and in life. "Of course the forest pioneer cannot compose orchestral symphonies, nor the founders of a state carve statues. But the thoughtful and scholarly men who created the Massachusetts Colony brought with them the traditions of their universities, and left these embodied in a college. The Puritan life was only historically inconsistent with culture; there was no logical antagonism." His birthday was December 22, only one day from Forefathers' Day, and he regarded himself "as a sort of brevet Pilgrim." As a literary man he was a defender of Puritanism, because what he wished to see breathe through all our literature is "the invigorating air of great moral principles." He says: "As the foundation of all true greatness is in the conscience, so we are safe if we can but carry into science and art the same earnestness of spirit which has fought through the great civil war and slain slavery. As 'the Puritan triumphed' in this stern contest, so must the Puritan triumph in the more graceful emulations that are to come; but it must be the Puritanism of

Milton, not of Cromwell only."

A Milton in his own way, in his equal love of beauty and passion for freedom and justice, Colonel Higginson himself was; as in his own way he was a Sidney too. Was it not Sidney who said, or to whom it was said, "Whenever you hear of a good war, go to it." Whenever Colonel Higginson heard of a good war, he went to it; and the campaigns for freedom, equality and progress, in the various fields of American life, in these two generations, in which he has not been one of the first to volunteer, without counting the company or the cost, have been few indeed. He led a regiment of negroes in the civil war; he has stood in the front rank of many a regiment in many a war before and since. He has been eminently a knightly and chivalric man. He has been, in the highest and best sense of the word, a romantic one. He has been his whole life long the conspicuous friend and champion of woman. No other man has written so constantly, so variedly, so attractively or so cogently in behalf of the emancipation of woman from the legal and industrial disabilities by which she has been hampered and of her elevation to every educational and political privilege. An index to the thoroughness of his studies in this field is the fact that at one time he gave to the Boston Public Library a thousand books on women. He has been in this reform our John Stuart Mill. He tells us how, very early in life, he became impressed by the absurdity of the denial of political rights to women; and he signed the call for the first national convention to promote the woman's rights movement, in 1850. "Of all the movements in which I ever took part," he wrote a dozen years ago, "except the anti-slavery agitation, this seems to me the most important; nor have I ever wavered in the opinion announced by Wendell Phillips, that it is 'the grandest reform yet launched upon the century, as involving the freedom of one-half the human race.'" He wrote four books in some way relating to the subject. His "Common Sense about Women" is the best single book in existence upon woman's rights. There is no phase of the question which is not somehow treated,



and the treatment is always pithy, pointed, sane and influential, calculated to win the reader and not repel him. A typical argument is this, replying to the foolish but very frequent contention that government ultimately rests on force and that women must not vote because they cannot fight:

"The truth is that, in this age, it is the civilian who rules on the throne or behind it, and who makes the fighting men his mere agents. Yonder policeman at the corner looks big and formidable: he protects the women, and overawes the boys. But away in some corner of the City Hall, there is some quiet man, out of uniform, perhaps a consumptive or a dyspeptic or a cripple, who can overawe the burliest policeman by his authority as city marshal or as mayor. So an army is but a larger police; and its official head is that plain man at the White House, who makes or unmakes not merely brevet-brigadiers, but major-generals in command,—who can by the stroke of the pen convert the most powerful man of the army into the most powerless. Take away the occupant of the position, and put in a woman, and will she become impotent because her name is Elizabeth or Maria Theresa? It is brains that more and more govern the world; and whether those brains be on the throne, or at the ballot-box, they will soon make the owner's sex a subordinate affair. War is the last appeal, and happily in these days the rarest appeal, of statesmanship. In the multifarious other duties that make up statesmanship, we cannot spare the brains, the self-devotion and the enthusiasm of woman. There is nothing impotent in the statesmanship of women when they are admitted to exercise it; they are only powerless for good when they are obliged to obtain by wheedling and flattery a sway that should be recognized, responsible and limited."

Forty years ago, at the close of the civil war, Colonel Higginson seemed a little appalled lest there might be no important cause left to fight for except that of woman's rights. Being himself, by nature and by grace, a fighter, having proved in his own life the immense good that comes to a man, as Whittier used to put it, from

identifying himself early with a good and unpopular cause, he had considerable anxiety about the moral muscle of the rising generation. He said then:

"As one looks forward to the America of fifty years hence, the main source of anxiety appears to be in a probable excess of prosperity, and in the want of a good grievance. We seem nearly at the end of those great public wrongs which require a special moral earthquake to end them. There will be social and religious changes, perhaps great ones; but there are no omens of any very fierce upheaval. And seeing the educational value to this generation of the reforms for which it has contended, and especially of the anti-slavery enterprise, one must feel an impulse of pity for our successors, who seem likely to have no convictions for which they can honestly be mobbed. Can we spare these great tonics? It is the experience of history that all religious bodies are purified by persecution, and materialized by peace. No amount of hereditary virtue has thus far saved the merely devout communities from deteriorating, when let alone, into comfort and good dinners."

The course of events in these forty years has shown that Colonel Higginson had no reason for anxiety on this particular score. He noted himself, some years later, in discussing the importance of great moral causes as a literary tonic, that Helen Hunt Jackson was as thoroughly thrilled and inspired by the wrongs of the American Indians as was Mrs. Stowe by those of the negroes. He also quickly saw, as Phillips saw, that the great social and industrial questions which were looming above the horizon would make their imperative call upon radical and heroic men, and furnish all the moral gymnasium necessary for a long time to come for men in danger of a life of "comfort and good dinners." His own voice has rung as true and strong upon the issues of the new social revolution as it rang in the old conflict with slavery. Like Doctor Hale, he saw that collectivism and cooperation must supplant the fierce and selfish competition in our business life, and his sympathy with socialism was pronounced. As he



saw that woman was in the due course of things to have her opportunity and rights, so he has seen that the poor man was to have his. Among his poems I think of none more stirring than that, fittingly inscribed to Edward Bellamy, entitled "Heirs of Time":

"From street and square, from hill and glen

Of this vast world beyond my door,  
I hear the tread of marching men,  
The patient armies of the poor.

The halo of the city's lamps  
Hangs, a vast torchlight, in the air;  
I watch it through the evenings damps:  
The masters of the world are there.

Not ermine-clad or clothed in state,  
Their title-deeds not yet made plain;  
But waking early, toiling late,  
The heirs of all the earth remain.

Some day, by laws as fixed and fair  
As guide the planets in their sweep,  
The children of each outcast heir  
The harvest-fruits of time shall reap.

The peasant brain shall yet be wise,  
The untamed pulse grow calm and still;  
The blind shall see, the lowly rise,  
And work in peace Time's wondrous will.

Some day, without a trumpet's call,  
This news will o'er the world be blown:  
The heritage comes back to all!  
The myriad monarchs take their own!"

Into the cause of pure civil service, into the cause of the education and the political rights of the freedmen in the South, into the cause of internationalism, into every cause which in the generation since the war has called for courageous championship, Colonel Higginson threw himself with the same enthusiasm with which he came to the side of Garrison and Phillips and Parker. No rebukes have been nobler than his of the militarism and materialism which have menaced the republic in these last years.

His word at the dinner of the American Historical Association was but one of many in which in this time he has reminded America of her duty to herself and to the cause of freedom in the world.

The protest of the American mind and conscience against our war of conquest in the Philippines constitutes a strong and stirring chapter in our history. Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland, both of our former Presidents, spoke the protest; Sherman and Edmunds and Thomas Reed, all in their time the favored candidates of New England for the presidential place, spoke it. Andrew Carnegie and a score of the great captains of finance and industry spoke it. The organized workingman of America, from east to west, spoke with one voice for generosity and justice. Many a gallant soldier in the field hated with a holy hatred the war of subjugation in which he found himself involved, as opposed to the first principles of the republic. Boutwell and Hoar and an illustrious galaxy of statesmen, President Eliot and a great company of scholars and teachers, stood firmly against the betrayal of those principles. But no body of men was more faithful than the literary men. Howells and Mark Twain and John Burroughs in New York, and Higginson and his loyal literary associates in Cambridge and Boston, in that dark night kept the lamps trimmed and burning.

No word read at the great Faneuil Hall meeting in 1900 called to express the sympathy of Boston with the Boers was more emphatic or impressive than his: "Every step in the demands of the English government upon the Transvaal has implied claims such as would be resisted by unanimous voice in every nation of the civilized world. Surely we have a right to meet in Faneuil Hall to protest against such injustice and to do honor to the courage unsurpassed since Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans 'spent one day in dying' in the pass of Thermopylæ." If Colonel Higginson had lived to be a hundred, he would never have heard the bugle blown in behalf of any cause of freedom without becoming young again and giving to the cause the reinforcement



of his energetic word.

It is in Colonel Higginson's poems that we often have the most stirring expression of his love of freedom and his prophetic confidence in a future greater and nobler than any celebrated past. One of the finest of his sonnets is that to Whittier, with its grateful confession that it was the poet's voice which gave him his own peculiar call to duty:

"At dawn of manhood came a voice to me  
That said to startled conscience, "Sleep  
no more!"

Like some loud cry that peals from door  
to door

It roused a generation; and I see,  
Now looking back through years of  
memory,

That all of school or college, all the  
lore

Of worldly maxims, all the statesman's  
store,

Were nought beside that voice's  
mastery.

If any good to me or from me came  
Through life, and if no influence less  
divine

Has quite usurped the place of duty's  
flame;

If aught rose worthy in this heart of  
mine,

Aught that, viewed backward, wears no  
shame,—

Bless thee, old friend! for that high  
call was thine."

Significant, too, and for the Boston man inspiring, are the lines upon Boston in the Memorial Ode read before the Grand Army Posts of Boston in 1881:

"Not in the past, but in the future, we  
Must seek the mastery  
Of fate and fortune, thought and word  
and deed.

Gone, gone for aye, the little Puritan  
homes;

Gone the beleaguered town, from out  
whose spires

Flashed forth the warning fires  
Telling the Cambridge rustics, "Percy  
comes!"

And gone those later days of grief and  
shame

When slavery changed our court-house to  
a jail.

And blood-drops stained its threshold.  
Now we hail,

After the long affray,  
A time of calmer order, wider aim,  
More mingled races, manhood's larger  
frame,

A city's broader sweep, the Boston of to-  
day.

They say our city's star begins to wane,  
Our heroes pass away, our poets die,  
Our passionate ardors mount no more so  
high.

'Tis but an old alarm, the affright of  
wealth,

The cowardice of culture, wasted pain!  
Freedom is hope and health!

The sea on which yon ocean steamers  
ride

Is the same sea that rocked the shal-  
lops frail

Of the bold Pilgrims; yonder is its tide,  
And here are we, their sons; it grows  
not pale,

Nor we who walk its borders. Never  
fear!

Courage and truth are all!  
Trust in the great hereafter, and when-  
e'er

In some high hour of need,  
That tests the heroic breed,

The Boston of the future sounds its  
call,

Bartletts and Lowells yet shall answer,  
'Here!'"

With such a faith in the future of the Puritan city, he has also been its staunch defender from ignorant and unjust criticism. In his essay on "Literary Tonics" there is no passage more interesting than this about Boston:

"Some minor English critic wrote lately of Dr. Holmes's 'Life of Emerson': 'The Boston of his day does not seem to have been a very strong place; we lack performance.' The Boston of which he speaks was the Boston of Garrison and Phillips, of Whittier and Theodore Parker; it was the headquarters of those old-time abolitionists of whom the English Earl of Carlisle wrote that they were 'fighting a battle without a parallel in the history of ancient or modern heroism.' It was also the place which nurtured those young Harvard students who are



chronicled in the 'Harvard Memorial Biographies'—those who fell in the war of the Rebellion; those of whom Lord Houghton once wrote tersely to me: 'They are men whom Europe has learned to honor and would do well to imitate.' The service of all these men, and its results, give a measure of the tonic afforded in the Boston of that day. Nay, Emerson, himself was directly responsible for much of their strength. 'To him more than to all other causes together,' says Lowell, 'did the young martyrs of our Civil War owe the sustaining strength of moral heroism that is so touching in every record of their lives.' And when the force thus developed in Boston and elsewhere came to do its perfect work, that work turned out to be the fighting of a gigantic war and the freeing of four millions of slaves; and this in the teeth of every sympathy and desire of all that appeared influential in England. This is what is meant, in American history at least, by 'performance.'

This was the Boston which was the capital of the movement which purged the land of slavery, as it was the capital of the movement which gave us our independence. It was the great centre of the activities of most of the men and women named in Colonel Higginson's "Contemporaries." Emerson, Alcott, Parker, Whittier, Lydia Maria Child, Dr. Howe, Garrison, Phillips and Sumner are the heroes of the great era of reform to whom special essays are devoted in this volume; and there are also essays upon Walt Whitman, Sidney Lanier, Helen Hunt, John Holmes, Thaddeus William Harris and General Grant. "An Evening with Mrs. Hawthorne" tells of a conversation devoted mainly to the birth-hour of the "Scarlet Letter." "A Visit to John Brown's Household in 1859," contributed originally to Redpath's "Life of John Brown," is the story of an evening spent with the family at North Elba while the old hero lay in the Virginia jail awaiting execution. In all literature we know of no stronger or tenderer picture of homely heroism and absolute devotion. "It had been my privilege," wrote Higginson, "to live in the best society all my life—namely, that of abolitionists and fugitive

slaves. I had seen the most eminent persons of the age—several men on whose heads tens of thousands of dollars had been set. . . . I had known these, and such as these; but I had not known the Browns. Nothing short of knowing them can be called a liberal education." He prophesied then that John Brown would become "the favorite hero of all American romance"; and he said this memorable word of his old-fashioned Puritanism: "John Brown is almost the only radical abolitionist I have ever known who was not more or less radical in religious matters also. His theology was Puritan, like his practice; and accustomed as we now are to see Puritan doctrines and Puritan virtues separately exhibited, it seems quite strange to behold them combined in one person again." Higginson's own desperate scheme to liberate John Brown from the Charlestown jail was a scheme natural to one who had borne so brave a part a dozen years before in the attempted rescue of Anthony Burns.

The essays in "Contemporaries" differ in interest and value. Garrison is warmly recognized as "the living centre" of the group of reformers; but the essay upon him is not one of the most important. That upon Phillips is much better, and the fine description and analysis of Phillips is much better, and the fine description and analysis of Phillips's oratory which it contains is alone sufficient to give it permanent value. The following word is a fine tribute to Phillips's fine fearlessness at the time when in the autumn and winter of 1860 he was speaking at Music Hall to Theodore Parker's congregation, and was each Sunday followed home by a mob, while his house was guarded through the nights by friends and the police: "During all this time there was something peculiarly striking and characteristic in his demeanor. There was absolutely nothing of bulldog combativeness, but a careless, buoyant, almost patrician air, as if nothing in the way of mob violence were worth considering, and all threats of opponents were simply beneath contempt. He seemed like some English Jacobite nobleman on the scaffold, carelessly tak-



ing snuff and kissing his hand to the crowd before laying his head upon the block." Colonel Higginson does not do quite sufficient justice to Phillips's last days. Phillips may, or may not, have made mistakes in his discussions of capital and labor and of the currency; but the significant thing is that he recognized so much more clearly than most of the old reformers where the next battlefield with slavery lay, and that he threw himself into the fight on the right side. The finest passage in the essay on Sumner is that where, writing of the day before Sumner's funeral, Higginson's thought goes back to the beginning of Sumner's chivalrous career and he traces the changes that had come to Boston in the intervening years:

"Standing amid that crowd at the State House, it was impossible not to ask one's self: 'Can this be Boston? The city whose bells toll for Sumner—is it the same city that fired one hundred guns for the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law? The King's Chapel, which is to hold his funeral rites—can it be the same King's Chapel which furnished from among its worshippers the only Massachusetts representative who voted for that law? These black soldiers who guard the coffin of their great friend—are they of the same race with those unarmed black men who were marched down yonder street surrounded by the bayonets of Boston militiamen?' It is said that when Sumner made his first conspicuous appearance as an orator in Boston, and delivered his address on 'The True Grandeur of Nations,' a prominent merchant said indignantly, as he went out of the building: 'Well, if that young man is going to talk in that way, we cannot expect Boston to hold him up.' Boston did not hold him up; but Massachusetts so sustained him that he held up Boston, until it had learned to sustain him in return."

Far finer and more considerable than any of these essays is that upon Theodore Parker. There is not, in all the books in the library, a nobler tribute to Parker than this, none which expounds more adequately his marvellous learning, his great achievements and the sources of his

power: "Parker lived his life much as he walked the streets of Boston,—not quite gracefully, nor yet stately, but quick, strong, solid step, with sagacious eyes wide open, thrusting his broad shoulders a little forward, as if butting away the throng of evil deeds around him, and scattering whole atmospheres of unwholesome cloud. Wherever he went, there went a glance of sleepless vigilance, an unforgetting memory, a tongue that never faltered, and an arm that never quailed."

The essay upon Lydia Maria Child is one of the best in the volume, a most impressive account of that great woman's varied and remarkable achievements. To her famous "Appeal for that Class of Americans called Africans," published in 1833, Higginson pays this high tribute: "As it was the first anti-slavery work ever printed in America in book form, so I have always thought in the ablest; that is, it covered the whole ground better than any other." Even more interesting is the essay upon Helen Jackson, whose friend Colonel Higginson was from the very beginning of her literary career, and who clearly found his friendship one of the most formative and stimulating influences of her life. There is, no chapter in the book more personal, vital or vivacious.

Higginson somewhere discusses, I think ironically, somebody's dictum that "a foreign nation is a kind of contemporaneous posterity." Whatever truth or falsehood may be in that work, this is true,—that insight discounts history and does not have to wait for the verdict of posterity. Of insight only is this true. The man of fashion and the fool have no instinct that can tell where God is on the field in their own place and time. To the conventional man of Boston and of the nation, the period of the great heroes of these glowing pages was "time when truth was called treason." How quickly was the conventional verdict set aside! "It is a striking fact," Higginson notes at the close of his essay on Garrison, "that in the valhalla of contemporary statues in his own city, only two, those of Webster and Everett, commemorate those who stood for the party of con-



servatism in the great anti-slavery conflict; while all the rest, Lincoln, Quincy, Sumner, Andrew, Mann, Garrison and Shaw, represent the party of attack. It is the verdict of time, confirming in bronze and marble the great words of Emerson, 'What forests of laurel we bring, and the tears of mankind, to those who stood firm against the opinion of their contemporaries!' " But to the eye of Emerson himself his contemporaries were as the immortals. To him history and the newspaper were one; and he knew John Brown for a hero while the musketry yet rattled at Harper's Ferry as truly as the men of Concord Bridge whose shot had been heard round the world and been applauded all along the line. To Higginson also the men with whom he labored in the cause of freedom were the same men and held the same rank when they were contemporaries as

now when they are memories and their statues stand in the streets.

In the great group of American fighters for freedom, Colonel Higginson will hold an immortal place. Gladstone at Oxford in his later life reviewed the changes through which he had passed since he began his public career as "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories," and said: "I have come to place a higher and ever higher value upon human liberty, and there, and there only, is the secret of the change." With Colonel Higginson there has been no change. His whole life was one great sermon on freedom. He began his public career as its champion, his long years have all been spent in its service, and now when his presence is withdrawn his word will still be heard charging the republic never to give that sacred and commanding word a second place.

